244 in northern Abyssinia.

[263] bärbäre is the generic name for the red spicy pepper, a major ingredient of wot, and the most important item in the kitchen garden. The strongest kind is called "mitmitta" or "sätita" and because it is grown in Begemdir it is often called "Gondar bärbärey". The smaller the pod, the stronger the pepper.

Gesho, the leaf used as fermenting agent in beer and mead, grows on a bush which is a garden crop.

Ades, another leafy garden crop is grown in a wind-protected area, fenced in; used to purify butter in boiling, especially for use in women's hairdo, for they believe the odor of it is irresistible to men.

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Gwaya, a major forage crop of the legume family, is grown as scarcity fodder but contact with it is believed dangerous to humans.

245 Lemons, very small, are grown in a scattered fashion, the only fruit so raised.

Viticulture is a riddle. Grape growing is not in evidence any more among Amhara peasants, but there are local traditions that up to a century ago grapes were grown, e.g. in the worada (district) of "yakamkam qaroda", east of Lake Tana. The name "woyna dega" is derived from the wine-growing, intermediate level of topography. It may have been imported by the Portuguese, or may have been much older. Nowadays

252 Butter is made in a large gourd ("gurna"), plugged with a wooden prop. The housewife shakes this back and forth, much like Middle Eastern nomads shake it in skins. The butter that results resembles Indian ghee, and is called, at this stage, "gorännä". For human consumption it is then usually boiled with spices, especially bärbärey, but not with salt. To cure it further in order to make it sweet, delay rancidity, etc., butter (qebyë) is further boiled with one or several of the following spices in the process known as "yäqoyë mantäriya", "yäqebyë anäṭaṭär":

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bark of ginger	- quarafa zenjebel
cardamon seeds	- korärima
thyme	- azmud
garlic	- näch shenkurt
sweet basil	- bäsobela
saffron	- erd
wild thyme	- ṭosen

302 Since most of these spices are expensive, butter intended for ornamental pomade of women's hair is boiled instead with leaves of the "ades" bush, which grows wild. This process is "ades qernefad".

273 The most important, daily drink is talla, the barley beer brewed by the housewife. It is little different, basically, from other African barley beers. Men almost never drink water (though the barley beer may be very weak), partly due to their fondness for "sweet", i.e. only slightly fermented beer. After three days of storage, the Amhara begin to complain that it is "too bitter", and let the women drink it up.

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304 the effect of their whiteness. She also tatoos the women's necks up to the cheek, in the shape of concentric necklaces, to make the neck appear longer, a mark of beauty.

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302 The hairdresser, "ras säri" is a woman who operates a traditional beauty parlor. She braids the women's hair front to back in as few as 12 or as many as 32 braids, depending on how much the customer is willing to pay. Her best-paying customers are divorcees looking for husbands, especially during the marriage season that follows the major harvest early in the dry season. A full two-hour job with a maximum of fine braids costs ETH$1.00 (US$0.40), while a simple job producing only few and thick braids, costs only a quarter of that. Many peasant women, and women unwilling to go to this expenditure, usually let their hair grow to a huge bushy crop, halo-like surrounding the skull, occasionally anointing it with butter boiled with "ades" leaves. But divorcees have the expensive hairdo done over as often as once every two months, and have it thoroughly washed during the process, so that their hair is much cleaner than that of married women.

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535 Another occupation of women is that of "azmari", musician-singer-dancer, who performs at more elaborate, wealthier, rural weddings, and nearly all urban ones. This will be described under entertainment. She is often accompanied by a male azmari, who plays the single-string violin or the banjo-type instrument, and who may alternate with her in singing rhymes, but who does not dance.

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

867 [539] "He, before becoming old,
wants to be serious".

(This is also said of a young man who saves gifts for a bride before he has chosen a girl).

When the adolescent boys take part in the aforementioned ritual mock-battles, younger boys imitate them by staging similar hazing-battles among their age peers.

Little girls are encultured in somewhat similar fashion by peers of their own sex, but more often including some older girls who patronize the younger. Girls are not taught any social graces among commoner Amharas, so that they sit shyly and wordless when in the company of men. Any girl who shows signs of daring is mocked and hazed as "gobba" (daring, enterprising female). Generally the activities of girls are less vident,. At times when boys fight their ritual mock-battles, girls dance rounds and sing in unison.

Both boys and girls are taught to be right-handed, and a [264 576 514] "lefty" is extremely rare. They are taught to eat with the right hand, shake hands with the right, and use the left for wiping themselves with leaves after defecating. But the prohibition against use of the left hand on other occasions is not as severe as among Arabs.

[754] Both sexes fear the supernatural "buda" spirit, also in the shape of human sorcerer and magical hyena. Older boys claim they can distinguish the cry of a real hyena from that of a magical one, and sometimes scare younger children by imitating the howl.

867 302 Sex differentiation among children is expressed in the hair style. Boys wear a single coxcomb hairlock, girls a ring of hair around the shaven skull which sometimes may contain a center hair-

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[302] lock in addition. But boys never wear the ring of hair, which would be insulting to them.

864 When sex differentiation becomes more emphasized in the culture, at about seven, sex talk and sex play goes on primarily within the peer group of the same sex. The invitation to do this is "enkä sälantiya", (lit. let us play at guessing impolite matters). They play hide and seek, whisper, re-enact what they have observed their parents do at night in the hut, and phantasy experimenting with sexual possibilities. Children observe a lot in the quiet of the night in the hut, but are careful not to be seen watching. They misunderstand and are greatly puzzled, since no elder will explain "impolite matters" to them. It is impolite even to mention the names of genitals and reproductive organs, such as "kola" for penis, and "ems" for vulva, so they are merely whispered about. In church school, boys are puzzled by overt references to "Mary's womb" and "God's seed", but questions are rejected as "rudeness". Youngsters in town have broader information, because there they hear "rude" talk more often among adults.

D. Toys and Games.

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524 The economic activities of children in the fields, where they spend much time in guarding but do little intensive labor, is regarded by them more in the nature of play. It is fun to throw rocks at thieving baboons and shoot pebbles at birds, with slingshots made of "nacha" fiber.

The boys also make a bullroarer, "mät", to scare birds away from seeds and mature crops. This instrument is also called, onomatopoetically, "gurumremosh" (from "tägwerämirrämä", to

584 door event of the year, the church parades on Epiphany ("Temqat"),
796 in connection with the "guks" tournament of the young men. Dressed up in holiday fashion, the "qonjo" girls eagerly follow the fortunes of their preferred boy friends. When no elders are within hearing, some girls direct teasing shouts of encouragement at the young men, even occasionally "ellel" (reserved for church ritual earlier that day). This day is the climax of the informal courtship - serious flirting season, in mid-January.

The third and final occasion occurs on Easter, "Fassika", at the very end of the dry season, just before social activities move indoors. For this holy day, the girls have once more washed their
[302] garments despite the shortage of water, reddened their palms, prepared the hairdo. Everyone is in a happy mood, for the long lenten season is over, and meat is consumed in greater quantities than at any other time. There is an element of urgency in social relations, for this is the second and final marriage season, and soon all social life and kin visiting comes to an end for four long,dreary, rainy, chilly months.

It is on the basis of such informal courtship, climaxed on these three annual occasions but continuing in-between, that a young man requests his father to initiate negotiations for marriage by sending an intermediary to the girl's family. If the match seems suitable to the elders, negotiations begin.

4. Adulthood and Marriage: Dominance of the Kin.

582 A girl's first marriage nearly always takes place before she is fully adult, physically as well as in maturity of character; while the bridegroom, though also young, is physically adult and in

3. Expressive Physical Arts.

531 Physical arts, like their material culture, are little developed among the Amhara, compared to their elaborate spiritual culture. If their life cycle gives any clue, it seems that the explanation lies at least in part in the end of free experimentation at the onset of adolescence, after which the experimentation is fettered into lines ordained by the Coptic church. Especially fine art, is considered exclusively within the domain of the church. This leaves little beyond body care and ornamentation for expression of physical arts, and even this is partly dedicated to religion, such as the rationalized plucking of pubic hair of the woman, and the fullest expression of body arts on the occasion of church festivals. [302]

171 It is also interesting to observe how patterns of the Middle East and of Africa are so evidently drawn from and synthesized in the traditional Amhara pattern of expressive physical arts, particularly in body care and ornamentation.

A. Body Care and Ornamentation.

515 [312] Washing in the dry season is difficult, since water is scarce and there are no wells. However, with some little effort, water can even then be obtained by digging in the riverbed, since the water table is high; this is what travellers do. Near towns the latter effort develops into a business, for water carriers, employing women as cheap labor to carry the water in their clay pots uphill to the town, charge 5¢ (Ethiopian) per potfull of water. Only the "unattached woman" who has a cash income from beer-brewing or temporary wife - prostitution, can afford this, and usually buys a potfull of this muddy water every day during the long dry season, to wash herself and her clothing regularly and frequently, at a time when the fully respectable Amhara housewife goes unwashed (except for hands and private parts). Divorcees looking for husbands and professional women alone feel the need for daily [548]

515 washing of the body and frequent washing of clothes, and an individual housewife who takes it upon herself to wash more than expected is noticed as different and suspected as possibly being not as respectable and innocent as she might like to appear.

388 In washing, especially of clothes, a soapwort ("endod") (pircunia abyssinica) is gathered from wild bushes the location of which is carefully remembered, for they are not planted. The yellow fruit is dried and crushed, on a flat rock above the river or in it when the water is shallow. It is mixed with water, so that a greenish-white foam results. The fingermarks, resulting from the mixing and gathering of the foam, can be seen on rocks where the sun has dried the remnant.

574 Dry grass is used as toilet paper, usually held in the left hand.

515 302 Women fumigate their bodies frequently, in the dry season because water is short and hard to come by; in the rainy season, after bathing in the brook or river, to "get rid of the river odor". For, especially at the beginning of the rainy season, the rivers are muddy and carry much smelly debris.

There are 3 different, major kinds of fumigation wood ("yätis enchät"): Domestic incense gathered in the woods by commoner women are "abalo" and "täjo" (Rhamnus straddo); noblewomen and wealthy women aiming at prestige despise domestic woods, and insist on imported incense, primarily "etan" (frankincense), more expensive but freely purchasable on all markets because it is used regularly in the church, during services.

302 Plucking out of pubic hair, by means of ashes held between the fingers, was considered one of the most important duties of feminine hygiene. Men might shave, though not pluck, their pubic hair, if they desired to do so for special "cleanliness". This procedure of plucking

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302 was required of females past puberty, i.e. women of marriage age, and they were not supposed to substitute the less efficient method of shaving. The proverb says:

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"To a man who plucks out,
to a woman who shaves (pubic hair),
forgive He (God) will not."

However, in the recent change situation, possibly since the spread of the European razor blade, plucking is becoming a lost art among the younger generation; and, while women now shave their pubic hair; men let it grow naturally as most of them apparently have always done.

515 The continuous polishing of teeth ("mewachä") has already been mentioned. This is one of the few activities of body care in which even men indulge as continuously as women. The reason is that it is not regarded as "for cleanliness" (which is considered less necessary for men, in a culture which regards women as "dirty"), but as "polishing" and "sharpening" this equipment of nature for powerful use, much like birds whet their beaks, readying them for action. The polishing is done with a hardwood twig, the ends of which are masticated first, and and motion is upward and downward, so that the upper gums receive considerable massage also.

302 Nails are given little attention, except in the case of the bride, whose nails are trimmed usually a day before the wedding, so that she will not be able to scratch the bridegroom when he has to use force to deflower her. Her nails are cut so short that not infrequently the skin is cut, and hot butter is applied, to heal them and also render the fingers caressingly smooth.

Reddening of palms, fingers and soles of feet is feminine procedure in preparation for holy days and festivities. The most common cosmetic used for this purpose is called "ensosella" (Impatiens tinctore),

302 golden red stain obtained from the root of this bulbuous plant which grows wild. This is done by young girls and respectable married women, as well as "unattached women".

Shadowing of eyelids, however, is the specialty of divorcees and "unattached women". It is done by means of antimony ("kull"), mixed in powdered form with vegetable oil, and applied with a simple grass brush (much as in ancient Egypt).

304 Tattooing ("negsat") is also a special attraction made use of almost exclusively by divorcees who want to attract another husband; as they themselves say "for beauty's sake". Since it is a mark of 826 beauty to have a long neck, tattooing aims at emphasizing this feature, and a concentric series of necklaces is carefully tattooed on the neck from ear to ear and from the collarbone until part of the way up the cheek. Seven hatched lines of this tattoo can cost as much as Eth$3-4, even in the less expensive provincial towns. The work is done by a professional woman tattooer, and takes several hours. There is pain for about a week thereafter, so that a divorcee usually has it done about two weeks before one of the major holy days in the year which also serve as climaxes of the flirting season, notably Epiphany (Temqat) and Mikael. The freshly applied tattooing will then be noticed as an innovation by men looking over the eligible women, and as conversation piece invite the approach of the male. Tattooing fades, especially on dark skin.

Tattooing of the gums is also popular among divorcees, to heighten the whiteness of the teeth, and is curiously called "ters tequrat" (lit. blackening of the teeth), (also "guramayle"). Unlike neck tattooing, in which the dye used is usually blue, blackening of the gums, between and just above the teeth, done with soot, achieves a much darker effect.

000 and just above the teeth, done with soot, achieves a much darker affect.

302 Women's coiffure is more elaborate and more regularly attended to than any other part of body care, not only by divorcees, but also by respectably married Amhara women; though the former have it done more often and more elaborately. The work is done by a woman beautician, whose bigrest season is before religious holy days. The hair is braided front to back; and the finer the braid the more numerous the braids, the more prestigeful, and the more expensive. The thickest and cheapest braiding costs 25 ¢ Ethiopian, ("nätäla shämo", lit. a half-done hairdo); a medium job costs 50 ¢ ("derb"); a fairly good job alternating one thick with one thin braid, called "sereng" costs 75 ¢; the thinnest, finest braids, "gechen", in which no fluffy hair is left between or above the braids, costs Eht $1.- (in Gondar), and takes several hours. Sometimes a slight variation of this hairdo leaves a horizontal, thin braid of hair across the upper forehead. The hair at the end of the braid, sticking out over the base of the skull, is left fluffy, ("jofjofe"), because the men like to caress the nape of the women's neck, and the hairdo carefully leaves this area free.

Butter boiled with the "adeg" leaves is placed on the hairdo, and the smell of this is believed by the women to attract the men. When butter is put on unbraided hair, the hair is covered with a cloth. If

301 the hair is braided, a thick ribbon of cotton, sometimes dyed green by a divorcee who wants to advertise that she is available, is tied around the forehead, to catch the flow of butter when it melts in the heat of the day. This ribbon, ("gardaba", or "gälbe", or "mälävo") formerly represented decorations given by their warlord commander to men who served as soldiers, but now women have taken it as their fashion, particularly the divorcees who can experiment more freely than wives, without being criticized. Well-to-do women or divorcees will

302 have their braids undone every two months or so, so the hair can be washed, and then re-braided.

A woman who cannot afford even the minimal hairdo; or one who is in mourning; or one who is being possessed by a jealous "zar" spirit who has forbidden her to braid her hair the usual way may, on the occasion of an approaching holy day, have a single, horizontal, thick braid surround the head, called "zurosh".

Adolescent girls and poor unattached women, on the occasion of an approaching holy day, sometimes give themselves a simple hair innovation by shaving a circle in the center of the skull, leaving a ring of hair; or, as a compromise, shave the rear half of the skull, ("sadulla" or "gane"). A partly braided skull is the frequent symbol of the adolescent girl, also of the bride; but if a married matron and mother of children were to resume it, she would be criticised for "light conduct" and suspected of immorality. However, zar doctors may order women clients to do this, as the expressed desire of a jealous zar spirit.

Little boys wear a coxcomb of hair (already described in section on the life cycle), called "guncho", resembling the Horus lock of ancient Egypt. Girl children wear, with or without the center lock, a ring of hair symbolic of their sexual differentiation.

Warrior males in the old tradition would wear their hair standing up as stiffly as possible ("anchabarrara"), often by means of grease, since this symbolized both ferociousness and disinterest in the finer arts of body care. This is still found in the Wolkait jungle area populated by hunters, and the refuge of bandits.

Beard comes somewhat late to men, usually not before the age of 25, so that a man waits till he is in the thirties and forties before

302 attempting to grow a rich one. This rich beard - though really a full goatee - is called "tïnä aron" (lit. beard of Aaron) in Geez, and is worn with the pride of the elder. Hair is also left on the upper lip, but usually does not grow very long or rich.

301 Ornaments are worn almost exclusively by women, and often include items that also have utility: the metal or wooden pin ("walaba" or "wolba") that is stuck in the tight hair and also used to scratch; an earwax spoon of metal, suspended from the matab neckcord on which are also suspended a small cross, amulets, (keys in modern situation), etc. Necklaces ("qwad") may be of wooden beads. In recent years country women have become very fond of a necklace of imported bluish glass rings ("deba"), which can do double duty in scouring and burnishing the clay pottery. A necklace of 130 of these rings costs 50 ¢ (Ethiopian). Also widespread is the use of a beaded strap with a large button-like center ("shotälay") which is worn on the forehead as an amulet, e.g. by women who have sufferred several miscarriages. A metal bracelet, ("ambar") was formerly given to soldiers as decoration, but has now become a women's fashion, worn on upper arms or legs.

B. Fine Arts

531 Artistic expression in the fine arts bears the stamp of the
566 feudal lord, who alone was in a position to order, encourage and reward individual craftsmen and their apprentices; and of the Abyssinian Coptic church.

The feudal lord commanded decorative arts relating to warfare, such
282 as the previously described rhinoceros shields. Another common object is the saddlecover ("degus"), made by experienced tanners out of leather, with geometric designs impressed by hot irons; fine leather stitching; and metal ornaments fastened on by the smiths. These designs and ornaments are still found, e.g. on leather cases containing the "dawit" (Psalter) written on parchment made of tanned goatskin.

826 Projecting teeth, especially incisors ("gätata") are considered ugly, wild animal-like, and it is an insult to call such a person [302] "tersam" (lit. toothy). Hair is grown long and standing up stiff by warriors who wish to appear ferocious. The hairdoes of women are diverse. Baldness ("tämällätä") is relatively rare, and if at all, comes very late. Big hips, though covered, are considered an important mark of beauty in a woman, while little attention is paid to the breasts which lose their youthful shape early in life due to prolonged breastfeeding. The ideal feminine body is a fairly short, hippy woman ("täfar wägäb") with high-bridged nose and bulging eyes. On the other hand, a woman with small or lean hips, called "dog hips" ("wesha wägäb"), whose hips are sharply outlined ("wägäb araqi"), is considered deficient in feminine allure. The proverb says:

[539] "(strong) child from hippy woman;
(good) grain from lower terrain (more fertile)."

"A short man is like a monkey,
(but) a short woman like a noblewoman."

The seat of strength in a man is not considered to be in the biceps, but is believed located in the knee ("gulet"). This is examined when hiring a laborer (formerly also in a soldier), perhaps because t he physical type of most Amhara is slender, and their legs have little visible musculature - though much endurance. It is still considered praise to call a young man "gulnasa" (powerfully kneed), and the Amhara take great pride in being able to walk long distances without a rest; flexing the tendon behind the knee ("gwadia"). The elbow is the next place ("kendam" man with powerful elbow) of strength. Bowlegs ("waraha") are considered the result of riding too much, and are not regarded as a special mark of ugliness.

794 not to cross the boundary in front of the stage again. He is not to
756 approach the house until well after nightfall, and is to come by a
123 back trail, so as not to be seen by passersby.

794 Thus, after nightfall on the 23rd of the month of Ïakatit, he
796 climbed over eroded back trails down to the "Kokit" section of Addis
123 Alëm and approached the house of Lady Sälämtu where her devotees were assembled. It was 7:30 P.M. More oil lamps had been lit. There were about 20 women, but a male zar doctor with talents in poetry and chanting sat near the stage, wearing a white turban much like a Coptic Abyssinian priest. A powerful male drummer had been hired for the occasion.

794 Lady Sälämtew still took no official notice of the foreigner, for
796 her zar had not yet "descended", and without that she was just a hollow
[123] shell, a mute "horse". One of her brothers motioned the foreigner politely to a seat on the mudbench that ringed the wall. There was much subdued whispering, as if a momentous event was about to take place. The hairdo of several of the women devotees and doctors had
[302] been specially arranged to honor their individual zars: those not permitted to cut their hair had plaited it into a braid ("zurosh") surrounding the skull; others had shaved a circle in the middle (called "gucho"), like a little girl.

794 Other preparations and paraphenalia included the ritual coffee
796 trays ("gënda"), which symbolized the wooden"tabot" (sacred tablet)
778 of the holy Coptic city of Aksum, and which were dedicated to several zars including Säyfu Çhängär and Rahëlo. The ancient mother of many zars, named "Werër" was believed to have stolen the original "tabot"

2: Allen G-5 (1941) 1943 MP5 Amhara MP5

of Semitic blood. There is rather more of the Semite in the Tigraian and the Amhara than in the Shoan and the Gojjami. The Tigraian language has come much under Semitic influences, and there are many common elements in Amharic and Arabic: not only in vocabulary but also in syntax. The Amharic alphabet, with over two hundred and fifty odd letters, is a very exact instrument for rendering the language. It is derived from one of the old Semitic alphabets of the Middle East. Amharic has many explosive sounds which often give the impression that the speaker is excited and indignant when he is not, and with the impatient foreigner this can sometimes lead to misunderstandings.

Physically the Amhara is slight and light-boned with regular rather delicate features. He has quick almost bird-like movements and his manner gives the impression which I cannot describe better than by the word fluttering. The hair and beard has the characteristic Hamitic corrugation. Men often go iron grey in middle life, but seldom white. The hair of the women is artificially frizzed and dressed with butter-grease to fix it. This gives them a gollywog appearance.

The Amhara have the most charming manners and they like to stand on ceremony. They have a complicated social hierarchy and always dismount as a salutation to superior persons. They will also touch with their lips the hands or knees of superiors. At the same time they have the naturally easy and democratic outlook of the East; and the poorest man will expect attention and the right of access to a Ras, or even to the Emperor. The approaches to the palace at Addis Ababa were lined with sometimes quite humble people, farmers and soldiers, waiting an opportunity to secure the Emperor's decision on some matter.

To respond to his ceremonial manners is an easy way to the heart of the Ethiopian. At the same time they are quick to take offence and their shrill voices are soon raised in anger.

The frail physique and mercurial temperament of the Amhara is doubtless the result of the rarefied alpine atmosphere and of a diet predominantly of grain paste seasoned with strong condiments—which they vary from time to time with orgies on practically raw meat. But fragile as they look, the Amhara are, nevertheless, extremely hardy. They will sleep out in all weathers with nothing to cover them but their thin cotton robes; they are remarkable runners and can maintain a jog trot all day; they are like goats on the hillside.

I believe the Amhara to be naturally intelligent with a brain which only awaits proper training and development. During the five years of the Italian occupation, no small proportion of the population of Addis Ababa acquired a fair knowledge of Italian. I knew a boy of twenty who, in addition to excellent English, was proficient in Arabic, Somali, Galla, and Swahili. He came, of course, from Harar, which is a great metropolis for peoples from all round the Red Sea. Abyssinian recruits acquired a knowledge of Morse with remarkable facility.

When it is possible to overcome the linguistic difficulty and get on friendly terms with Ethiopians, they prove delightful companions, naturally kind, generous and friendly, with a charming sense of humour and often a nice

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

house are the raisins from which the wine is made, and a machine for pressing. In this same house the blessed bread is made which is given away on Saturdays and Sundays and feast days; and on great feasts, such as Christmas, Easter, Our Lady of August, etc., they carry this bread of the sacrament with a pallium,[1] bell, and cross devoutly. Before they enter the church with it they go round the church by the circuit like a cloister; when it is not a feast they enter the church at once and without the pallium. On a Saturday before Ascension these friars made a procession; and from being in a new country it seemed to us very good, and they did it in this way. They took crosses, and the altar stone covered with a silk cloth, a friar carried it on his head, which was also covered with the said cloths; and they carried books and bells, and thuribles, and holy water; and all went chaunting to some millet fields: there they made their devotions and cries after the fashion of litanies, and with this procession they returned to the monastery. We asked why they did that, and they said that the animals ate their millet, and so they went to pour out holy water and pray God to drive them out. In this country he that says the mass has no other difference from the deacon and sub-deacon in his vestments than a long stole with an opening in the middle to allow the head to pass through; before and behind it reaches to the ground. The friars say mass with hair on their heads; the priests do not wear hair, and are shaven and so say mass. Also, both friars and priests say mass barefooted, nobody enters the church with his feet shod, and they allege for this what God said to Moses: "Take off thy shoes from off thy feet, for thou art on holy ground."

782 796 793 292 796 [302]

[1] Under a canopy.

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

443 places which are chief towns of districts, every week. The fairs consist of bartering one thing for another, as for instance, an ass for a cow, and that which is of least value gives to the other two or three measures of bread. By means of bread they buy stuffs, and with stuffs they buy mules and cows, and whatever they want, for salt, incense, pepper, myrrh, camphor, and other small articles.[1] They buy fowls and capons, and whatever they need or want to buy is all to be found at these fairs in exchange for others, for there is no current money. The principal merchants 792 292 at these fairs are priests, friars, and nuns. The friars are decent in their habits, which are full, and reaching to the ground. Some wear yellow habits of coarse cotton stuff, others habits of tanned goat skins like wide breeches,[2] also yellow. The nuns also wear the same habits; the friars wear, besides, capes of the fashion of Dominican friars, of the same yellow skins or stuffs, they wear hats; and the nuns wear neither capes nor hats, but [302] only the habit, and are shaven with a razor; and they wear a leather strap wound or fastened round the head. When they are old women they wear fillets[3] round their heads over their tonsures. These nuns are not cloistered, nor do they live together in convents, but in villages, and in the monasteries of the friars, on account of belonging to those houses and order. The order is all one, and the nuns give obedience where they receive their habits. With regard to entering churches and monasteries, the nuns do not enter except as other women do. There is a great multitude of nuns, as well as of friars; they say that some of them are very holy women, and others are not so. The priests show very 793 302 little difference from the laity in their dress, because all [292] wear a good cloth wrapped round, like smart men, and their difference is that they carry a cross in their hand, and are shaven, and the laity wear long hair. The priests also have

[1] *Bechugarins.* [2] *Zafoens* or *Safoens.* [3] *Tufos.*

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

this, that they do not cut their beard, and the laity shave 793
below the chin and the throat. There are other priests, [302]
whom they call Debeteraas, which means canons; these belong to great churches, which are like their cathedrals or collegiate churches, and are not monasteries. These are very well dressed, and at once appear as what they are: these do not go to the fairs and markets.

CAP. XXX.—*Of the state of the Barnagais and manner of his house, and how he ordered a proclamation to be made to go against the Nobiis,*[1] *and the method of his justice.*

The service of this Barnagais is very poor in state, although he is a great lord and has the title of king. As many times as we spoke to him we always found him seated on a bedstead beneath a coverlid, and himself covered with hairy cotton cloths which they name *basutos*; they are good for the country, and there are some here of a high price. Behind the sides of the bedstead, walls, without anything except four swords hung each on a pole, and two great books, also suspended on poles. In front of the bedstead, mats on the floor, upon which sit those who come; the houses rarely swept, his wife always seated on a mat near the head of the bedstead, many people always before him, the great people seated on mats. In sight of his [231]
bedstead stand four horses, one always saddled, and the others covered, not caparisoned for war, but as horses are in the stables. In these houses of his are two inclosures, and each one has its gate, and in it porters with whips in their hands, and in the one nearest to him are smarter porters. Between these gates, the inner one and the outer 693
one, is always his Alicaxi, which means his judge, hearing causes and administering justice. If the cause is important,

[1] Nubians.

4: Alvarez M-5 (1520-1526) 1881
MP5 Amhara MP5

and so receive absolution. They pray in the churches of 796
the canons as in those of the friars. Friars do not marry, [782]
canons and priests do so. When the canons live together 793
in the circuit they eat in their houses, and the friars eat in community. The chiefs of these churches are called Licacanate. The wives of the canons have houses outside of the circuit, where they go to live with them: the son of a canon remains a canon, and the son of a priest not, except he chooses later to become one. No tithes are paid to any church, they live on the large properties which the churches and monasteries possess. Complaints against the clergy [694] are dealt with before the secular justice.

The vestment is made like a shirt, and the stole with a 292
hole in the middle, and put over the head; they have no maniple, nor amice, nor girdle; priests and friars all have [302] their heads shaved, and the beards not. The friars say mass with their hats on their heads, and the priests with their heads bare.

In no church is more than one mass said, and no mass is 794
said for alms, not even for the dead. When any person dies, the priests come with cross and holy water and incense, and recite certain prayers for him, and carry him off to burial very hurriedly: next day they bring offerings: the churchyards are all closed, so that nothing can enter them.

Prester John has no determined place of abode, he 643
always goes about the country in tents, and he will always have in his camp five or six tents among good and common ones: and there will always be at Court of people for the 644
horses and mules from fifty thousand upwards.

The kitchen of Prester John is a good crossbow shot behind his quarters, and they bring his food in this manner: all that he has to eat comes in porringers and dishes of very black earthenware on wooden trays, and pages bring them, and above the pages come a pallium of silk, which covers them so that these viands come with reverence.

6: Messing E-5 (1953-1954) 1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

539 and was always looking up intently and with concentration. One of his friends asked him, "What are you looking for?"

"*Mäwéa*," replied the wit in his classic manner. [The literal meaning is "exit," i.e., either the exit from the trail on the tiring climb, or "the place where we emerge" from the female body.]

The Wit At Home. Home in his hut in Gondar, AG-H was one day at dusk lying on his bed. [56] His wife had gone to the river to wash her private parts, as is the custom of the Amhara women at nightfall. Tired from the uphill climb from the valley, she rested before the hearth to dry herself, but dozed off. Soon AG-H heard a cannonade of farting, issuing from his half-conscious wife. He called out to her, "Where are you? Come to bed!"

Awakening, she said dazedly, "I am just drying myself."

To which he replied, "You are drying yourself so much that you are cracking apart."

[302] *A Woman's "Way."* [In accordance with ancient custom, women used to pluck out their pubic hair, rubbing ashes between their fingers to get a good grip while plucking.]

One day a girl student of AG-H was late for her lesson. Taking a quick short-cut across the back yard, she tumbled into the ash heap, soiling her lower toga and her legs with the ashes. She excused her appearance to her teacher, saying, "Oh, Master, I was so eager to come quickly, and now I have dirtied myself with ashes all over."

"That is *your way*," nodded AG-H.

Only much later did the girl learn that he had meant not only the wrong way she had come, but was referring to the fact that being smudged with ashes was the natural "way" for a woman.

[564] *The Pot Of Caste.* [The women of the Falasha caste are makers of pottery, a despised occu-
[323] pation among the Coptic Amhara, though much appreciated by the Amhara, who buy all their better pots from them.]

The wife of AG-H, quarreling with a certain woman, accused her of being of Falasha ancestry and that her mother had been a pottery-maker. One day that woman returned from the river valley, carrying a large, full pot of water on her back. She saw AG-H sitting in front of his hut, and decided to take the opportunity to complain to him about the taunts of his wife.

AG-H disliked being involved in the petty quarreling of the womenfolk, but he listened quietly. As she took leave, he patted her full clay pot and said, "*This* is your work."

She thought that he meant she should not quarrel with his wife, should instead attend to her tasks of fetching water, cooking, etc. But on further reflection what had he meant? Had he accused her of being a pottery-maker herself?

Jealousy Is Dangerous. AG-H was also notorious for his prowess in bed and his fickleness in love.

One day his wife had to go far down to a valley to fetch water, since the dry season had left only water holes in the river bed. She left him in charge of their baby. Taking the baby with him, he went to the hut of his current girl friend and spent the afternoon making passionate love. As it happened, this woman also had a baby about the same age. Dusk came rapidly, and AG-H knew that his wife would soon be back. In the hurry, he took the wrong baby.

A moment after his return his wife arrived, laden with water pot and firewood. When she beheld the baby of her current rival, she became very angry and said, "This thing is not my baby! Shall I throw it in the fire?"

Calm as ever, AG-H replied: "There is a fire also in the house of his mother."

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8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

301 would meet round the wrist of any of our English friends.

302 The fashion amongst the women of wearing the hair, which is jet black, varies, and sometimes it is left about two or three inches long, curling and waving, thus forming a becoming frame to the face. More common, perhaps, is the style of doing up the hair into dozens of tiny plaits taking the form of the head, the ends being loosely tied together on the neck and left to hang; some affect a parting down the middle of their heads, puff the hair out at the sides, and do it up in a chignon at the back like many Europeans. Amongst the lowest classes one finds perhaps most frequently in both sexes the head shaved, the hair being allowed to grow till uncomfortable and then shaved again. This shaving appears to us a somewhat painful process, and to be an apt illustration of the dictum that *il faut souffrir pour être beau*; for one frequently sees the operation in progress, two forms squatting on the ground, one shaving the other with a bit of broken glass-bottle.

Children as a general rule also have their heads shaved, but a tuft of hair is often left on the crown of the head, or a fringe round their forehead, and young boys frequently have the head bare except for a strip of hair extending from the back of the neck to the forehead over the centre of the head, which gives the appearance of a cock's comb and is most comical.

The Abyssinians of the people are also addicted to buttering their heads, of which unpleasant (though fortunately not universal) practice I have been given three explanations. The first is that it is done for purposes of adornment, which is understandable; the

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

habit is not confined to Abyssinia! The second, which is more curious, is that of protection against the sun's rays. In this connection it is interesting to recall that Mr Mansfield Parkyns, who spent three years in Abyssinia, used no head covering of any sort at any time other than a coating of butter, which he says he found as effective as any hat.

The third (and most frivolous) reason is that butter in the hair hampers the free movement (and consequent irritation) of the little creatures that live there. There is possibly something in this, as a "head-scratcher", in the form of a blunt silver or wooden pin, is a general ornament, as incidentally is also an "ear-cleaner" which resembles a small salt-spoon.

In some parts of the country where the hairdressing mode is of an elaborate character, the women, when lying down to sleep, use wooden head-rests for their necks, made of a slightly curved piece of wood supported on a sort of foot, the whole being a few inches high. Some of these are quite elaborately carved or coloured; but however pleasing they may be to the eye—and I have seen some very pretty ones—they must make exceedingly uncomfortable pillows, and the use of them appears to argue an even greater interest in personal appearance than European women display. These head-rests are of very ancient origin; they are curiously similar to the one discovered in Tutankhamen's tomb.

The more wealthy Abyssinians are very partial to scents and scented hair oils; the strength of the scent is more important to them than its quality, and the shops in Addis Ababa do a brisk trade in inferior

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

302 imported toilet requisites of this kind, and charge fabulous prices for them.

The curious custom of stopping up the nostrils is still met with, though I imagine it is becoming less and less common; but one still constantly sees natives on their way to market with a piece of green leaf, or a flower petal, protruding from their noses, and I remember on one occasion when an Abyssinian lady, who had been paying us a visit, was leaving the house, she produced some cotton-wool and stuffed it carefully in both nostrils.

181 Their love of pageantry, display, and functions is quite Oriental, and is well exemplified by the splendour of some of their religious and Court ceremonies.

521 Amusements are few. The people seem to prefer to sit and chatter; they are great talkers, and whether in the servants' quarters in a house or round their fires on trek, one hears the clatter of their tongues almost incessantly.

492 All Abyssinians can ride more or less, and they are on the whole good horsemen, though indifferent horse-masters. Except in war, or on the occasion of a fantasia, they seldom ride horses; for purposes of daily use mules are almost universally preferred; all but the poorest women also ride mules for getting about.

The Abyssinian saddle is of wood with a pommel back and front and a sheepskin and some padding in the middle, the whole covered with a brightly embroidered saddle-cloth. The stirrups are round and very small, as the Abyssinian inserts only his big toe therein. The bits are horrible instruments, consisting of a ring round the lower jaw and a spike which, when the reins are pulled, sticks into the roof of the animal's

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

FIG. 3.—*Fāsil's castle, Gondar*

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FIG. 4.—*Two Manzé elders*

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FIG. 5.—*Mass circumcision of Jännä*

[R14-8]

11:Levine. Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

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FIG. 9.—*The weekly market*

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[P.46-B]

The weaver at the loom

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

FIG. 11.—*The market: buying honey*

FIG. 12.—*The market: inspecting pottery*

FIG. 13.—*The market: selling salt bars*

[P.78-A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

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FIG. 16.—*The procession on Timqat Day*

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FIG. 17.—*Timqat procession: detail*

[P. 110-A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

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FIG. 20.—*Traditional (church) school: student huts*

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FIG. 21.—*Traditional school: learning to read*

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FIG. 22.—*Traditional school: learning zema from master*

[P. 142-A]

11 Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)19c) MP5 Amhara MP5

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FIG. 9.—Layman who has become a monk

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FIG. 11.—A group of clergy

[P 206-A]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhará MP5

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FIG. 32.—*Haile Selassie as a boy with his father, Rás Makonnen*

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FIG. 33.—*The Emperor attending a ceremony at the University College*

[P. 206-B]

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

*121 674 any case the *shĭftā* is a man apart, who makes his home in uninhabited mountainous country or lowlands and lives by stealing cattle and robbing travelers. Some Amhara become *shĭftā* because of a passion for this way of life; this is particularly true of soldiers who, after a long campaign, prefer the continuation of a predatory and free existence to a return to the hard work of the fields. Others do so involuntarily, in order to escape punishment after committing some violence in the course of a personal dispute.

*121 674 829 554 The attitudes of civilian Amhara toward the *shĭftā* combine fear and dislike with a strong tendency toward idealization. The *shĭftā* is feared because he is a killer; if a person happens to witness him performing some act of theft or murder, he will usually keep quiet about it for fear of reprisal. He is disliked because he lives parasitically off the productive activities of others. But the *shĭftā* is widely admired, on the other hand, because he possesses a number of qualities that are dear to the Amhara. He is reputed to be an expert singer of *shĭllalā*. He is credited with unusually handsome features because, living at the expense of others as he does, he has plenty to eat and no [577] arduous work to wear him down. Above all he is *guabaz*, the great Amhara virtue that embodies bravery, fierceness, hardihood, and general male competence. This is symbolized by the *shĭftā*'s letting his hair grow to the proportions of a *gofarĕ*, the wildly thick hair style of the warrior.

[302]

*121 674 829 The Amhara's admiration for the *shiftā* is reminiscent of American attitudes toward the outlaw in "western" films. In the Amhara case, however, this is not balanced by a corresponding idealization of a sheriff-figure as the representative of civil order. Although a feudal lord or governor who captures some *shĭftā* in his area may be admired, this admiration will be directed to his personal qualities of bravery or cunning far more than to his capacity as an agent of "law and order." There is no feeling among the Amhara that the *shĭftā* must be captured simply because he is an outlaw. Instead, a more pragmatic approach is taken: the *shĭftā* is acknowledged as a legitimate social type and is tolerated at a distance so long as his killing does not become [181] wanton or excessive. This approach, and what, in the idealization of the *shĭftā*, appears to be a tendency to identify with someone who openly flaunts the norms of civil society, bespeaks a relatively weak commitment to the value of civil order.

*121 181 186 619 The weakness of the Amhara's attachment to symbols of local community is paralleled by his parochialism with respect to more inclusive levels of community. This parochialism is manifest in diverse ways in the different social strata. Among the peasantry it appears, for example, as an aversion to arranging marriages and permitting land to pass to an Amhara from a different province. Among the clergy it has been expressed in terms of those regionally based doctrinal differences which have disrupted the church for many centuries. Among the nobility it has taken the form of incessant politi-

chases more exotic ingredients from an herbalist (in this transaction, acting as medhaniyt korac) who is known to treat the relevant ailment. Medicaments are mixed with the tokwariy's ink for all instances of therapeutic tattooing. The decision to include medicaments in prophylactic tattooing reflects the tokwariy's alternative strategies. In the first of these, the tattooing aims to drive away the pathogenic agent, by a combination of designs. These designs are associated with the pathogen in "conventional" or pragmatic terms only; the medicaments used in tattooing are derived from herbalist therapies in which the medicament assisted in expelling the pathogen from the sickman. The second strategy is directed against purposive agents, those responsible for yisow ayn and yibuda basiyta (discussed in chapter one). Here no medicaments are used, and the designs aim to distract the agent's attention and his disease-causing eye from vulnerable areas of the potential victim's body, particularly away from his mouth. Children under ten are rarely tattooed, but are protected from these agents by bizarre haircuts (for example, three asymmetrically arranged patches of hair on an otherwise shaven skull, or a single patch on the brow), likewise intended to draw attention to less vulnerable body areas.

A variety of motifs are utilized by the tokwariy, necklaces of "beads", geometric decorations, crosses, and

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

APPENDIX B

HERBALIST THERAPY FOR YIBUDA BAŠIYTA (BUDA POSSESSION)

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[825] The buda is a human, male or female, who shares a kinship of sorts with the hyena. When at night he hears their calls, he is irresistably attracted to run about with them. Like the hyena, he strongly desires to eat of human flesh and blood, but his cravings are not malevolent, and he often regrets this compulsion. The buda trait is most often passed down within families; in Begemder Province, it is limited to Falasha families.[52]
[856] The buda trait is present at birth, but like an individual's other capacities, reaches full potency at its bearer's physical maturity.

In his nocturnal guise, the buda bears his human
• [302] face upon a hyena's body. The first time an individual runs with the hyenas, he (or she) is obliged to cut his hair short, in the fashion of Falasha women; the subsequent transition from wer-hyena form to human appearance is accomplished on the following morning with the aid of a secret medicine. The buda is, however, most dangerous, when in his prosaic human form, he produces the buda syn-

[52] Elsewhere in Ethiopia, buda accusations are directed against local endogamous iron working peoples.